DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 280 979 CE 046 772

AUTHOR Gustafsson, Ingemar
TITLE Diversified Secondary Education in Botswana and Zimbabwe. Goals and Constraints of Two Experimental Programmes.
INSTITUTION London Univ. (England). Inst. of Education.
PUB DATE May 86
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Vocationalising Education Conference (London, England, May 7-9, 1986).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Community Change; *Community Development; *Developing Nations; Economic Development; *Educational Change; Foreign Countries; Models; Program Descriptions; Secondary Education; *Vocational Education; *Work Experience Programs
IDENTIFIERS *Botswana; *Zimbabwe

ABSTRACT

This paper describes two programs in Botswana and Zimbabwe in which manual work forms an integral part of the educational program. It analyzes their objectives and structure and discusses constraints against the background of socioeconomic change in the two countries. Differences are identified and discussed. The first two sections deal separately with the two programs: the three secondary schools initiated by P v Rensburg in Botswana in the mid-1960s and the eight secondary schools opened in Zimbabwe for ex-refugees after independence. (These schools, which strictly speaking are government schools, work under the umbrella of the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, ZIMFEP, and are known as the ZIMFEP schools.) The third section makes a comparison between the two programs. It discusses how external factors influence and determine educational reform work in Botswana and Zimbabwe. (YLB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED280979

University of London Institute of Education
Department of International and Comparative Education

VOCATIONALISING EDUCATION CONFERENCE

7-9 May, 1986

DIVERSIFIED SECONDARY EDUCATION IN
BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE

Ingemar Gustafsson

SIDA

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

C.M. Lillis
SIDA

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CE046772

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Department of International and Comparative Education
University of London Institute of Education
20 Bedford Way, WC1H 0AL

DIVERSIFIED SECONDARY EDUCATION IN

BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE

Goals and Constraints of two experimental programmes

April 1986

Ingemar Gustafsson

The author is Head of Section at the Education division of SIDA but is also doing research at the Institute of International Education, University of Stockholm. This paper is presented as part of his research and the views do not necessarily reflect those of SIDA.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper describes two programmes at the post-primary level in which manual work forms an integral part of the education programme (1). It analyses their objectives and structure and discusses constraints against the background of socio-economic change in the two countries. Differences are identified and discussed. The first two sections deal separately with the two programmes.The third section makes a comparison between the two. The two programmes are the three secondary schools initiated by P v Rensburg in Botswana in the middle of the sixties and the eight secondary schools opened in Zimbabwe for ex-refugees after independence. These schools, which strictly speaking are Government schools are known as the ZIMFEP-schools and this term will be used throughout. The schools work under the umbrella of the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, ZIMFEP. They are meant to serve as a model for curriculum development at the secondary school level in Zimbabwe.

2 BOTSWANA

2.1 Background

The Protectorate of Bechuanaland,founded in 1885, which in 1966 were to become the Republic of Botswana, was a result of the power struggle in Southern Africa at the time. The British were anxious to protect their planned Cape to Cairo route from a possible linkage between the German South West Africa and the Portuguese Mocambique. The Heads of the eight Tswana Kingdom, who feared conquest from the Boer Republics in the South, saw British protection as a means to maintain their relative political and economic independence.

Neither the British South Africa Company, nor the British Government had any economic interest in the territory. It was made clear to the Chiefs that as little as possible would be done in the way of administration or settlement. It was also made clear that "costs involved in extending protection to their country would have to be paid by themselves" (2). This attitude would later have important implications for the development of secondary education. The period up to independence offers a number of interesting examples of secondary schools being started at the initiative of the Chiefs of the Tswana Kingdoms.

The first western type schools had come with the missionaries, notably the London Missionary Society, LMS, in the 1840's. Despite the occasional resistance by parts of the ruling elite, the Tswana Kingdom were open to integrating the new religion and culture with their societies. The London Missionary Society was given a church monopoly in Khamas country which lasted until 1956. Khama, his successor Tshekedi, as well as other Tswana kings made deliberate efforts to modernize their kingdom. The Tswana kings were in Parson's words "modernizing autocrats" (3). Khama was a serious christian but he also saw the political aspects of his cooperation with the LMS which he expressed as "I rule through the church". Unlike South Africa and Rhodesia, the boarders of the so called Native Reserves followed those of the kingdoms and there was no immediate pressure for land. The structure the eight kingdom remained intact throughout the colonial period.

This explains why primary education was under the control of the Tswana Kingdoms rather than under the missions or the British administration. But local control also implied local financing through self-help or through local taxes. This made it very difficult for the Tswana states to offer much

above primary education. Their ambition was to gradually build up a system of education "stressing both academic and industrial needs rather than opposing them to each other" (4). On this key issue there was no principle difference of opinion between the Chiefs and the Missions. The conflicts were over the control of education and the question of the expansion of secondary education. Up to the early 1950's the attitude of the missions and of the British was, that Tswana students should be sent to South Africa or to Rhodesia. It was argued that post-primary education was available there. The attitude gradually changed when Bantu Education was introduced in South Africa.

The first post-primary institution was initiated by chief Pilane of the Kwena in 1921. It was financed mainly through voluntary labour. Chief Isang expressed as his view that the building should not be used only "for ordinary and purely scholastic purposes but for training purposes and we even venture to believe that agricultural experiments might be carried on in connection with the school building" (5). Chief Pilane was not able, however, to secure the necessary financial support from the Colonial administration and achievements seem to have fallen short of expectations. Particularly the practical side of the curriculum was costly. The biggest of these projects was the Bamangwato College initiated by Tshekedi of the Ngwatu in 1948. It was made possible through a massive self-help effort that involved the whole Ngwato Nation. The school was intended to "provide a sound modern academic training as an integral part of and not as an alternative to agricultural or industrial training" (6). Tshekedi had followed plans that were drawn up very early on by Khama. The College, which opened in 1949, soon ran into financial difficulties, due to lack of support from the Colonial Administration. Thshekedi had pointed this out already in 1948 but it would take until 1955 when Government funds were made available on condition that the curriculum be changed in accordance with the Cape Code. As from 1955, Government grants were provided for a more academically oriented curriculum initially based on the Cape Code, later related to the Cambridge Overseas Examination.

This fact, coupled with the financial problems seemed to put an end to these early attempts to develop a model of education that combined academic subjects with industrial and agricultural training.

In 1962, four years before independence, a former South African refugee, P v Rensburg came to settle

in Serowe, the capital of the Bamangwato. In four years time he had developed a model of post-primary education which had a vocational training wing and a more literary oriented wing under the same umbrella. The two were meant to be partly integrated and largely self-financing. The institution was primarily meant to serve the needs of the local environment: an economy based on cattle, subsistence agriculture and small scale industries based on handicraft. But this strategy of development: a gradual development of the traditional economy and culture had changed with independence.

Priority was given to the establishment of an effective modern administration based in the new Capital of Gaborone, to the development of the infrastructure and to the exploration of Botswanas mineral resources. The Protectorate of Bechuanaland had been ruled from Mafeking and in 1964, only 24 out of the 184 professional posts were held by Batswana. In the technical, executive and secretarial grades, 275 out of 613 posts were held by Batswana. The report of the Education Department for 1965 concluded that "of particular and immediate concern is the serious shortage of qualified local candidates to replace the large numbers of expatriate officers still employed in the middle and senior grade of the Public Service. "This remained the core of the education policy up to the middle of the 1970s. Priority was given to secondary education. Meanwhile and as a result of investments after independence at an average annual rate of 20 per cent of GDP, the total value of production of goods and services increased four fold up to 1978/79. The public sector increased its share from 13 per cent in 1968/69 to 30 per cent ten years later.

In 1976 a National Commission on Education was established. The diagnosis was that there was a growing gap between the quality of primary and secondary education and that the content of formal schooling was isolated from the "real world". Its main recommendation was curriculum reform within a new structure that offered nine years of basic education to all children. It can be seen as a response also to the policy for rural development that had been adopted 1972. This policy, was an attempt to combine rapid industrialization with a subsequent development of the rural areas. The equity aspects were given more emphasis than earlier. The Commission suggested that a comprehensive system of education would best respond to this strategy for development.

2.1 Swangeng Hill School and the Brigade

Swaneng Hill Secondary School was started in 1963 by P v Rensburg with the support of the Khama family. It was a private secondary school and the students had helped in the construction. In 1965 a group of boys was organized into a so called builders brigade. Trainees continued to work for the school but also for the surrounding community. They learnt on the job at the same time as their work generated income that was meant to cover the costs of their training. The brigade was organized for "young people who have been unable to find either work or further education " (beyond Std 7). P v Rensburg's description at the time will be quoted in full because it gives a summary of the original idea. "They (the brigades trainees) give their labour in exchange for food, technical instruction and about two hours of training a day in general subjects. We are actively engaged in formulating syllabuses in English, Setswana, Civics, Mathematics and Science that will be relevant to these young people. The syllabuses we evolve will, we hope, cater especially for their needs, but we will aim at quality and we will not neglect cultural and moral values....

The brigade is available to do work for public and semi-public authorities and has already done work on several contracts, so making itself self-sufficient and providing cash ... for the members"(7).

The next step was to link the brigade and the secondary school physically and educationally. The students at Serowe secondary school, were requested to teach some of the theoretical subjects to brigade trainees. There was use of common facilities and social contacts were encouraged between the brigades trainees and the secondary school students. The brigades trainees spent about 20 percent of their time in the class-room and the rest in the workshop or in works for the community. For the secondary school students, the proportion was the reverse. A model for education with production had been established. It was later replicated at Madiba and Shashe River secondary schools. This integrated model of post-primary education was, over the years, to be replicated at two other secondary schools (Tutume and Matsha Community Colleges) but was not introduced nationwide. The secondary schools opted for the Cambridge School Examination requirements which, in Botswana, included the more conventional so called practical subjects (woodwork, metalwork, home economics and agriculture). The brigades were gradually separated from the secondary school and followed a path of their own. They were founded mostly on private initiative and with the support

of some outside donor. Ten years after the first builders brigade, there were 20 brigades centres in Botswana with nearly 1 100 trainees in 2-3 year courses in 12 different trades including building, carpentry, mechanics, farming, leatherwork, and plumbing. After 1978, numbers of trainees declined but seems to have stabilized around 700. Follow-up studies, made in 1976 and 1979 indicate that the great majority have got employment, mainly in the modern sector. Between 1970 and 1980 brigades centres constituted almost all institutionalized vocational training in the country. For example, in 1979 the output was 210 of whom 158 were employed mainly in large construction companies or by the Government (37 trainees). Six trainees had started small construction companies of their own. Many brigades had run into financial problems. Cost-covering of recurrent costs within five years was the policy up to 1975, when Government subsidies were introduced. In 1982 the annual subsidy covered between half and two thirds of the training costs. The rest was covered through the productive work of the brigades. As a result of new Government guidelines in 1983 it has been decided to cover the full cost of the training for those brigades which concentrate on training. The other so called production brigades receive no subsidies at all. A more detailed account of the development of the brigades is outside the scope of this paper. The focus here is on P v Rensburg's attempt to introduce an integrated model of post-primary education that combined theory and practice between and within subjects, which was cost covering and oriented towards the development of the local community. The assumption was that the inherent conflicts of society could be bridged within a multi-purpose institution, a self-contained mini-community, which at the same time was open to the community. The separation between the brigade and the secondary school started at Serowe in 1972. It followed as a result of student strikes at Swaneng Hill School in 1970 and 1972. The students did not accept to work for the school and for the community. After the first strike in 1970 it was decided to make work compulsory, but after the strike in 1972 a compromise was reached. Work for the school would be compulsory and work for the community would be voluntary. To P v Rensburg, however, the protests against work were only symptoms of more fundamental problems. He saw the solution to the internal conflict in a high degree of self-government which would include staff and students. But this was against Government regulations and was not accepted.

2.3 Justification and objectives which was the theoretical foundations of this model

This section will be confined to the writings of P v Rensburg as the founder of the Swaneng Hill School and the brigade.

Originally development was defined as an evolutionary process through which a society based on agriculture and on "truth through authority" would be transformed into a society based on scientific principles, a higher division of labour, democratic attitudes but with due respect paid to traditional values. The overriding problem at this point was described as a conflict between economic development and cultural change. Or as expressed by P v Rensburg: " Economic forces have disrupted the African way of life, destroying many of the traditional moral values without replacing them, except perhaps with a formal Christianity that has made little penetration in depth amongst the mass of up-rooted people" (8).

The essential characteristics of the original model can be summarized as follows:

- It was an integrated model for secondary school students and for brigade trainees (who did not qualify for entry into the secondary school).

- The brigades should meet the recurrent costs of their training. Secondary school students should participate in schemes of manual labour but should not be requested to cover the costs of their training.

- Development is a process which has economic social and cultural dimensions. Therefore there should be a fair balance between science and arts.

- The essential method should be to combine theoretical studies with manual work. There are pedagogical, economic and social reasons for this. Brigade trainees and secondary school students should live and work together.

- Participation of students and staff in decisions about the running of the school.

- The school should, as far as possible be independent of the Government.

Attitudinal change was very important as a means to combat elitism. In 1969 a production co-operative had been formed for brigades leavers. It was

not directly related to the education programmes at Swaneng. Theoretically, however, it was a logical step towards a model for employment generation in the rural areas. It soon ran into problems. A consultancy report concluded that the co-operative would not work because:

- trainees did not accept this as their future. They wanted a certificate that would lead to a salaried job,

- consensus could not be reached among the Bamangwato Tribal Authorities to allocate fenced land for groups of young farmers since this was against Botswana law and custom.

P v Rensburg found himself locked in between the demands for the manpower from the Public Sector and the big construction companies and traditional law and custom. The strikes at Swaneng had raised fundamental questions about the possibility of bridging the gaps within society through an integrated and egalitarian model of education at the secondary school level. If the contradictions of society could not be bridged within this multipurpose institution, perhaps a solution could be found at the other end of the spectrum. By this P v Rensburg meant a model for rural education which comprised a small secondary school and a co-operative linked to it. Students would spend half their time in the school and half at the co-operative. The foundation of co-operatives would create employment at the same time as it prepared students to work there. The secondary school should be small and concentrate on the theoretical, intellectual objectives of education. "All but the teaching functions should be taken away". This implied that the role of manual work would change. "If work in the community is important in a conventional school for improving students attitudes it is less important in a school such as this, where so many other measures are being applied to prevent attitudes of superiority to take root" (9). This new model which was never tried in practice would have been far away from mainstream secondary education during this period. P v Rensburg was aware of this. "As far as students and parents are concerned, seccndary education serves its purpose well. People do not want to change it, they want more of the same " (10). The purpose of the alternative model of a small school and a related co-operative was to support the dual strategy of rural and industrial development. It was meant to prepare for the day when secondary education did not automatically give employment in the modern sector. When that day come "I also think that there will be a climate of opinion more favourable to reform" (11).

It is interesting to look back at this reflection now, some ten years later when Botswana, as a result of the recommendations of the National Commission on Education, is moving towards nine years of basic education for all. It has been possible only through support to small private day secondary schools that have been started as a result of self-help. The economy is not growing at the same rate as in the beginning of the 1970s and there are growing numbers of school-leavers who can not find employment in the modern sector. Botswana is today looking for an alternative model of secondary education which is not too costly to the Government and which at the same time will prepare for work in the rural areas (12).

3 ZIMBABWE

3.1 Background

In 1923 Southern Rhodesia became a self-ruling colony, which increased the settler influence at the expense of the British Colonial Government. The following two decades saw the build up of a carefully designed set of laws which aimed at political and economic segregation between the European settlers and the African population. The Huggins Government, in 1933 took over on a programme of "parallel development". The segregation of land was more or less complete with the Land Apportionment Act in 1930. The reserves were meant to be the permanent homes of the Africans and labour reserves for the European economy. The Industrial Reconciliation Act discriminated against African artisans on the grounds that they were not yet ready to join the trade unions. The Maize Control Amendment Act in 1934 protected European farmers against possible competition from African farmers. The Native Councils Act in 1936 regulated the movement of the African population. At the same time the European farms and the growing industry was dependent on African labour. The system that was gradually built up was an intricate pattern of dependency with the political power mainly in the hands of the settlers, businessinterests and missionaries.

The education policy for Africans during this period was that they should be offered a rurally oriented kind of basic education "adapted" to their needs and those of the Tribal Trust Lands. This model known for its adaptation concept was developed as a result of the Phelps Stokes Commission's visits to Africa in the beginning of the 1920s. Gradually during the 1950s and 60s the more academically oriented secondary school was opened

to a small minority of the African students. The content was the same as for Europeans. In 1970 a structural reform was made at the secondary school level. An alternative model of secondary education for those African students who could not get access to secondary education was introduced. These school, known as the F2 schools had a bias towards practical subjects and was not meant to lead on to further studies.

Politically, they came to represent the very essence of discrimination of the African population in a racially segregated system of education. They had no equivalent in the structure to the system for Europeans. But independent Zimbabwe also inherited a long tradition of self-help in education. Schools for Africans were up to 1970 mainly in the hands of the missions. They were usually started with the support and help of the local community. Unlike Botswana, Zimbabwe was a highly industrialized society with a good infrastructure at least in urban areas and in the European farm districts. It is against this background that the setting up of eight experimental schools for Education with Production, EWP, the ZIMFEP schools, should be seen.

3.2 The ZIMFEP-schools

Education with Production, EWP, is the guiding principle for current educational reform work in Zimbabwe. Eight secondary schools and four adjacent primary schools have been identified to spearhead these efforts. The schools, which are located on former European farms were set up after independence for about 10 000 ex-refugees who returned from the camps in Botswana, Mocambique and Zambia. This group of students and teachers, who had developed a model of education based on education and work during the liberation struggle, were seen as the vanguard in the process. The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, ZIMFEP, was established as a Trust to co-ordinate construction work and to develop a model of EWP at the primary and secondary school level which could be replicated at the national level.

These experimental schools are expected to form the nucleus of a new type of secondary education based on the principles of EWP. The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, ZIMFEP, has been established as a semi-autonomous body under which the new experiment will be carried out. In the words of the Minister of Education: "It is because I knew that the task would be controversial and that it would meet with opposition that I proposed that an independent welfare organization -

ZIMFEP - be set up to lay the groundwork for substantive change. I believed that such an organization would have more freedom to experiment and would not be a prisoner of the bureaucratic structure inherited from the colonial past" (13). Legally speaking, ZIMFEP is autonomous. In reality, its is expected to operate within the Ministry structure. The ZIMFEP schools are Government schools. Therein lies a dilemma for them as a model for national reform. The Ministry is responsible for the academic and administrative aspects of the eight schools. The role of ZIMFEP is to promote education with production through suggestions for curriculum reform and through experimentation.

In practice this has meant that the schools are following the ordinary Cambridge syllabus but with a lot of practical and productive activities added. First, the students have been heavily involved in the construction of the schools. Secondly, schools have systematically tried to introduce productive activities as part of the curriculum.

Students are involved in project work, such as gardening, piggery, poultry and handicraft. The schools are also planning to explore the potential of their farms with a view to become self-sufficient in food. The farms are run by professional managers and staff. In 1984 it was decided that the agricultural projects run by students should be separated from large scale farming.

The schools also have the ambition to reach out to and develop the local community through community theatre and literacy work. Finally, students are encouraged to start co-operatives upon completion of studies. The co-operatives are not part of the school structure but schools as well as ZIMFEP has the responsibility of assisting in the process.

After five years, developments can be summarized as follows:

- The infrastructure has been established which allows for education and production to take place.

- ZIMFEP-schools have an impressive record of mobilization of students in construction work. Few negative reactions on the part of students against manual work have been reported.

- Deliberate attempts have been made to combine theory and practice within and between sub-

jects. This is often coupled with project work.

- A start has been made to generate income through large scale farming

- Some attempts have been made to reach out to neighbouring communities.

- Job-creation, through co-operatives have been supported on a limited scale.

- It has been difficult for the schools to find their role in a national context. They have been met with resistance, partly because they have been associated with the old F2-system, partly because of their relative autonomy, partly because they have been composed of ex-refugee students and staff. There is ambiguity within the Ministry, to what extent they should be different and autonomous in relation to the Ministry of Education and to the rest of the system. An evaluation is presently carried out which seeks to answer this question.

- In the main, the characteristics above have not affected the structure of the curriculum. The ZIMFEP schools offer the common core of subjects and students sit for the same examinations as other secondary students.

3.3 Justification and objectives

The Minister of Education has made big efforts to give the justification for Education with Production, EWP, in Zimbabwe. In particular he has emphasized that "Education with Production is not resuscitation of F2 schools under another guise but the highest academic, practical and managerial skills to be combined"(14). References have been made to the polytechnic concept of education. Students should be exposed to a broadly based education programme that prepares for all walks of life and which makes students understand their productive role in a national context.

Therefore, schools should link "learning with job creation, the school with industrial and co-operative development. In one ZIMFEP school the students learn skills that are needed by the society and they produce goods required by the local community"(15).

The discussion in Zimbabwe takes place within a broad framework of objectives which can be summarized as follows:

Summary of objectives of EWP

Level/ Dimension	Ideological	Economic	Pedagogical
Student	Positive attitude towards manual work; Understanding of one's role and that of productive work in a context of socialist transformation; respect for peasants and workers	Make students self-reliant through useful knowledge and skills	Working with others; learning through practical experience; application of book-learning in real life situations
Subject - content	as above for all subjects	bias towards technical and practical subjects	integration between theory and practice within and between subjects
School	Schools to become mini-community which combines mental and manual labour; a place for mental and material production; schools to become democratic	Schools to support and seek linkages with the local community; Schools to become partly self-financing	Management practices to be more democratic
National	Bridge the gap between manual and mental labour in society, between elite and masses. Promote participatory democracy	Education to promote economic growth	Support national education reform as regards structure, content and methods

The ZIMFEP programme rests on the assumption that wealth is created through exploration of Zimbabwes natural resources, agriculture and industry. Therefore there should be interaction between schools and society. Students should be made to understand the relationship between technology and economic development. In this perspective the role of secondary education should not be to train craftsmen but to give appreciation on different trades, combined with management training and

knowledge about economics. Others give more emphasis to skill training relevant to the development of the rural areas. The ZIMFEP model is in this context seen as a means to solving youth unemployment, stopping the drift to the towns and to develop the rural areas. This view was expressed in a workshop on Education with Production in 1984. "Soon the people will notice that O-level is not enough to get a job". Therefore the purpose should be to "give the student a trade training which they can utilize straight after school, whilst leaving an option for those who choose to pursue higher education as they will also have earned O-level subjects such as Eng, Maths and Science" (16).

The schools, when asked to define EWP have emphasized the practical side of the curriculum. Skill training and/or production of useful articles as the essence of EWP. Some definitions of the objectives are more elaborate than others and emphasis is given to various aspects of EWP. There is a common denominator, however, in that EWP is always referred to as a means to link theory with practice within and between subjects.

4 COMPARISON OF IMPLEMENTATION CONSTRAINTS

In the following section some of the constraints will be discussed.

The analysis will be confined to the external socio-economic factors that have influenced the two programmes. There are always a number of internal problems such as shortage of staff, lack of transport etc. These will be left out.

The colonial heritage has influenced, although in different ways, the attempts that have been made to introduce the two programmes described above. Although both Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia were part of the British sphere in Africa, the starting point of the programmes was different.

P v Rensburg could build on a tradition of an integrated model of secondary education, based on self-help which was firmly rooted among some of the Tswana Chiefs. Khama and his successor Tshekedi had initiated a big project which aimed at combining theory and practice, education and work. Also the tradition of self-financing and self-help was firmly established. These secondary schools were symbols of independence of the Kingdoms, independence from the Colonial Administration from the Missionaries and from a possible integrationwith the Republic of South Africa. From this point of view, it is natural that

P v Rensburg should get the support of the Tribal Administration and from the Khama family. The problem arose when the co-operative was introduced. That a group of young people should claim the right to fenced land was against traditional law and custom. Individual ownership of land did not exist and land was allocated to family heads by the Chief.

The other problem was obviously that Swaneng Hill School was started during aperiod of rapid economic growth and a subsequent demand for qualified personnel particularly in the Public Sector. Priority was given to secondary education mainly with a view to locate posts in the administration. No drastic changes were made in what the National Commission on Education called the hierarchical salary structure. The students responded at Swaneng by asking for education and examinations that would make them qualify for such posts.
P v Rensburg had good reasons to suggest as he did at the time, that the conventional secondary school filled this function very well. Hence there was no pressure from the Government or from students and parents to radically alter the existing and more academic type of secondary education or to introduce productive work as part of the curriculum. Neither was there immediate pressure on the Government to opt for a higher degree of self-financing of secondary education.

Also the brigades responded to the needs of the growing modern sector. Contrary to expectations, most trainees were employed where particularly building trades were in big demand.

The Minister of Education in Zimbabwe was faced with another historical reality. The division at the secondary school level for Africans known as the F1 (academic) and the F2 (practical) represented the very essence of racial discrimination. The efforts that have been made to explain that the ZIMFEP Schools are not F2 "under a new guise" indicates that he has expected resistance against any attempt to vocationalize secondary education. Unlike Swaneng in the beginning of the 1970s, however, there have been no student protests against involvement in productive activities particularly in the construction of schools. Experience shows that students should be involved mainly in smaller projects. In such projects students take more responsibility and it has been possible to include a training component. In bigger construction projects or large scale farming, students have done routine work. The question is if this successful experiment in student participation in productive work is due to the fact that the students, who came from the camps were mature men and women who

had learnt to survive under extremely difficult conditions. What will happen when construction is completed and the ex-refugees are gradually replaced by young students who do not have this background and experience? This raises a more fundamental question which came up very early on at Swaneng and which ZIMFEP and the ZIMFEP schools already have had to face. The question is how a small experiment, if successful, can be allowed to develop independently from the rest of the system and, as a next step, be replicated at the national level?

Swaneng Hill School and the brigades rested on the assumption that they would be a vehicle for change of the local community. Obviously it had the support of local political groups to do so. Through a high degree of self-financing it was hoped that it would have autonomy to develop independently at the same time that it would be attractive for the groups in the country. The clash with Government in the wake of the strikes came over the question of internal self-government. Government regulations did not allow for student and teacher representation on the Board. Whether a high degree of student participation in the decision making would have been enough to "combat elitism" i e had been enough to stop students from demanding examinations and to refuse manual work, is doubtful. The gap between a growing modern sector and traditional agriculture was too big.

Financially, the integrated model was not and could not be independent of Government subsidies. The brigades, however, reached ahigh degree of self-financing during this early period.

ZIMFEP and ZIMFEP schools are in a different situation. There is a strong linkage at the personal level between the Minister and the ZIMFEP which dates back to the struggle for liberation. Also from a formal point of view, ZIMFEP is closely associated with the Ministry of Education. The schools are experimental, at the same time as they have to conform to existing rules and regulations. A typical conflict has been ZIMFEPs wish to build up and maintain a permanent staff with experience from the camps and from EWP activities. In reality there has been frequent transfers of teachers as for the rest of the system. The schools have been looked upon as any other secondary school. It is evident from the Ministers'speeches that he had foreseen this conflict. Apparently he set the old wold lead to something new, better suited to the needs of the country. In practice, the solution is a compromise. ZIMFEP schools are to aspire for good Cambridge results at the same time as they are expected to develop an alternative model of

education. The construction rests on the assumption that it is possible to separate EWP activities from schooling. From a financial point of view, ZIMFEP schools are expected to contribute to their own up-keep though through large scale farming, but are not expected to be self-financing. At the best, their ambition is to be self-sufficient in food.

In view of this, their fate is closely related to decisions at the national level. It is not likely that the suggested new curriculum with the "highest level of academic, managerial and practical skills combined" can be introduced without a concurrent change of the objectives and content of the whole secondary school curriculum.

The objectives of the two programmes show big similarities. First emphasis is given to the ideological dimensions, as a means to "combat elitism" (in the case of P v Rensburg) or as a means to bridge the gap between "manual and mental labour" (ZIMFEP schools). The ambiguity that exists when it comes to skill training exists in both programmes. Should the schools in the first instance contribute to rural development i e give students specific skills for this or should they be prepared for life in a high technology society. The brigade shad early on a district profile towards skill training and there was separation between the brigade and the secondary school.

The ZIMFEP schools have so far tried to solve the same problem within the framework of an integrated curriculum which is the same for all students.

Both programmes emphasize the need to combine theory and practice as a pedagogical device. "Learning by doing" as one of the reasons for students' participation in manual work. This is the point which seems to have been the least controversial within the programmes. There were, as has been illustrated below, other reasons for the student strikes at Swaneng Hill School in the beginning of the 1970s.

Students and staff should participate in decision-making. This is an important objective in both programmes. Government regulations in Botswana did not allow for this and in Zimbabwe the schools do not seem to emphasize this despite encouragement from ZIMFEP.

Self-financing is another important objective. At Swaneng it was crucial if the school should have the freedom to experiment and for the brigades it was important to provide a model that could be replicated at no cost to the Government at the na-

tional scale so that there would be an alternative for those who could not be admitted to the secondary education.

In Zimbabwe the situation is different. The schools are Government schools which are expected to demonstrate that schools can and should contribute to their own up-keep. It is this demonstration effects rather than their need to be autonomous that is the rationale behind large scale farming. Against this interpretation could be said that most secondary schools do not have big commercial farms to support them. Also it may be that there is so much of resistance within the existing system that the income from the farms in reality will prove to be crucial for the additional costs that are related to the productive activities as a whole.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the preceeding sections an attempt has been made to discuss how external factors influence and determine education reform work in Botswana and Zimbabwe. In both cases, two experimental programmes have been chosen and less emphasis has been given to national reform work and other experimental programmes.

The above should be sufficient to illustrate the importance of such external factors and therefore, that the determinants of success or failure of these programmes look different at different points of time.

References

Further more detailed descriptions are given in:

1 a)	**Gustafsson I:** 1985	Integration between Education and Work at primary and post-primary level - The case of Botswana. University of Stockholm Institute of International Education, Working Paper Series No 95.
1 b)	**Gustafsson I:** 1986	Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, ZIMFEP. A Follow-up study. SIDA Education Division Documents no 29.
2)	**Colcough C and McCarthy S:** 1980	The Political Economy of Botswana - A Study of growth and distribution. Oxford p 19
3)	**Parsons, N Q:** 1983	Education and Development in Colonial Botswana. Working Paper for the Botswana Society p 7
	See also **Shapera, I:** 1975	Tribal Innovators, Tswana Chiefs and Social Change, 1795-1940. University of London. The Athlone Press
4)	**Ibid:**	p 15
5)	**Grant S:** 1976	A very remarkable school in Botswana Notes and Records, Vol 8. Gaborone Botswana Society pp 87-95
6)	**Gabatschwane S M:** 1961	Tshekedi Khama of Bechuanaland, Cape Town, London, Salisbury pp 29-33
7)	**v Rensburg P:** 1967	Education and Development in an emerging country Uppsala, Scandinavian African Institute p 18
8)	**Ibid**	
9)	**v Rensburg P:** 1974	Report from Swaneng Hill, Education and Employment in an African Country. Uppsala Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation p 137
10)	**Ibid**	p 64
11)	**Ibid**	p 65
12)	**Cf Ministry of Education** 1984	Education through Partnership - Intermediate school of the Future
13)		Speech by the Minister of Education at the ZIMFEP Workshop on Finance and Administration 6.5.1983

14) Speech by the Minister of Education at Workshop on education with Production 8.5.1984

15) Speech by the Minister of Education at ZIMFEP Textile exhibition 5.12.1983

16) Mrs Mudenze (the then Director of ZIMFEP) at workshop on EWP 8-11.5.1984